UNITY

FREEDOM FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

(Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor 1880-1918)

Editors

John Haynes Holmes Francis Neilson

George Willis Cooke

An Appreciation

By J. T. SUNDERLAND

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Contents

EDITORIAL—

Notes 243
Organizing to Wage Peace.—ANNA GARLIN SPENCER 245
Jottings.—J. H. H. 247

ARTICLES—

From "Forecasting the Future of Mankind." —*George Willis Cooke* 243
The New Evangelism. Part III.—REV. ROBERT WHITAKER 247
George Willis Cooke—An Appreciation.—J. T. SUNDERLAND 249

CORRESPONDENCE—

A Reply to Carlyle Summerbell and Other Troubled Souls.—ARTHUR L. WEATHERLY.. 254

THE FIELD—

To the Unitarian and Liberal Religious Peace Society (Continued).—FRED HANKINSON.... 255

UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

VOL. XCI THURSDAY, JUNE 14, 1923 NUMBER 16

Religion is not synonymous with what was done or said in India, Persia, Judea, Arabia, Greece or Rome. It is product of cosmic reality, that reason and love which underlie all nature and experience; and its inward peace and its eternal glory are to be found in the promotion of human welfare, the giving of courage and faith to the mind and heart of all men of every kindred and nation. Its revelation is new every day, and yet one with the whole process of man's evolution and forward-reaching through the ages. Where there is love, justice, truth, beauty, and freedom, there is religion that makes not afraid, but heartens and uplifts the purposes of men. Many a son and daughter of God has spoken to the world to make their fellows just and true; and such as they continue to speak, that we may go forward a little way on the path that leads to fidelity and loyalty.

—George Willis Cooke.
From "Forecasting the Future of Mankind."

It is poetry, after all, that can alone tell the truth! No other language can speak the final and perfect things. Suppose, for example, that we should here express regret that the men in control of the governments of the world were not long since dead and buried. Suppose that we should express desire that presidents and premiers and statesmen generally might be gotten rid of, and the earth thus be relieved of their unwelcome presence. Suppose that we should speak specifically of our own country, and lift the prayer that they that rule in America might soon be in their graves. We would be lucky, would we not, if we did this, to escape arrest and trial for incitement to assassination. Yet, a great English poet says just these things of the statesmen in his country, in the bitter and pathetic lines of a great poem—and every heart is swept with a supreme conviction of truth and justice! Gilbert K. Chesterton's "Elegy in a Country Church-Yard," published in his recent volume, "The Ballad of St. Barbara," is what we have in mind—and here it is:

The men that worked for England
They have their graves at home;
And bees and birds of England
About the cross can roam.

But they that fought for England,
Following a falling star,
Alas, alas for England,
They have their graves afar!

And they that rule in England,
In stately conclave met,
Alas, alas for England,
They have no graves as yet!

If President Harding should emulate the renowned Harun Al-Raschid and go about incognito visiting all sorts and conditions of people, we believe that he would make a discovery that would spur him to immediate action. If he would go to the workers on the railroads, in the mines and factories, and on the farms, and if he would go to the women in the homes and to the teachers in the schools, he would find that what they want is not the regulation of war but the abolition of war. He would discover that the great masses of people would hail him as real leader of men if he would take some effective steps toward the realization of his oft-expressed desire to get rid of war. It is true that, for the most part, the people are inarticulate in this matter. They have no organization which represents their desires. But the longing in the hearts of plain people is for action that will lead to the rational organization of mankind. A world-order depending on force is sheer insanity. Everyone knows that the resort to force to maintain world-order is a threat against civilization itself. A weapon that destroys the one who resorts to it, is no weapon for sane folks to use. If this is not understood in high places, it certainly is so understood by millions of those whom Lincoln called the "plain people." We believe that, if Mr. Harding should set himself to this great task of outlawing war, he would find, if he persisted in his purpose, that he would have behind him the mighty force of public opinion in America. And he would be hailed by the peoples of every nation on earth as a savior. The opportunity awaits him. We wish that he could see it and use it.

Gorki is tired of war, and fearful of a new war. Speaking to an American newspaper correspondent, he expresses his hope that "in case there should be a war, America (shall) on no account give either money or food to Europe for war purposes." Here is wisdom after the event! We tried this business of supplying the wherewithal for the combatants in the war of 1914 to carry on their pleasant little game of murder. Then, not satisfied with this long distance participation in the affair, we crossed the sea and jumped into the mud and blood bath ourselves—with results that are the particular shame and humiliation of the world today. A lot of good it did us, or anybody else, to help on the amusements of European diplomacy and militarism! And now, having gotten one good taste of the situation and withdrawn, we are being besought by every influence that can be brought to bear upon

us, to come back and help on the merry game some more by joining the League and backing up the League's World Court. That America should help Europe in this terrific crisis of her destiny, we thoroughly believe. But she should do it on her own terms; she should play the master and not the man! To take a role in the European drama, as we did consistently from 1914 to 1919, is one thing, and a very bad thing. But to write our own drama, and ask the European nations to enter therein, is another and much better thing. In other words, the challenge is for America to lead, and not, as in 1914-1919, to trot along, like a well-trained lackey, doing everything she is asked or ordered to do. Here is such a chance for creative statesmanship as we have not had since the days of Lincoln. But Harding and Hughes seem as blind to it as bats.

Lord Robert Cecil, in a recent speech in London, gave his impressions of the American attitude toward the League of Nations. From Lord Robert's speech we would judge that he would have known quite as much about our attitude toward the League, if he had staid at home and read the newspapers. There is nothing new in his reiterated statement that Americans are suspicious of the League. We have been so from the beginning. An English politician hardly need to have come across the water to find that out! He says that we think that the old maxims that prevailed among the European nations before the war are still in use. If we were so stupid as still to believe that, it would hardly have been worth while for Lord Robert to have visited us. Of the great body of liberal opinion in America that is opposed to the League on principle, he appears to know nothing. At least, no recognition of it appears in his speech. Lord Robert might have spoken more effectively while in this country if he himself had shown the sincerity of his devotion to the League by his action in the House of Commons. The man who said that he could not vote to refer the Ruhr matter to the League because it would injure the Tory party, was hardly in a position to convince us of the fact that the League is not a mere pretence. Lord Robert may be as sincere as his party politics will permit him to be, but neither his sincerity nor the sincerity of others can change the fact that the League is a part of the system established by the Treaty of Versailles. A man who comes to America from England and fails to learn that our opposition to the League is based on something other than partisan considerations or a desire to keep out of the affairs of Europe, might just as well have remained on his own side of the water, safe by his English fireside. And yet, on further consideration, why should we blame the noble lord? What chance was he given by his hosts and sponsors to see things as they are? If he is guilty of anything reprehensible, it is his apparent failure to recognize that he was guarded, while in this country, like a sterilized baby.

We print herewith an interesting editorial from a recent issue of the Bombay *Chronicle*:

> The threatened prosecution of Patriarch Tikhon and the punishment inflicted upon a Catholic Bishop have roused the religious heads of Christendom into loud protests against the barbarity of Soviet autocracy in Russia. Yet how does the prosecution of the Patriarch of the Orthodox Church differ from the legal action taken against *His Holiness Jagatguru Sankaracharya, the spiritual head of a large section of Hindus?* The Archbishop of Canterbury and the Catholic Primate of Westminster have jointly issued a manifesto expressing their disgust. *What did these amiable and self-righteous individuals do when the Sankaracharya was arrested?* They probably thought that as the action was that of *the British Government and the accused merely a heathen, all these subtle questions of spiritual authority did not arise.* One law for the Christian and another for the heathen!

We have said all along, as our readers can testify, that the row over the religious persecutions (so-called) in Russia, is nothing but the veriest hypocrisy. The outcry of our statesmen and ecclesiastics was purely political; the desire was not to protect clerics who needed or deserved no protection, but to hit the Soviets with one more handy club. Now comes an amazingly illuminating demonstration of our thesis! England, it seems, is engaged in the business of arresting and trying distinguished prelates. But the Archbishop of Canterbury and his flock, so sensitive to what they say is going on in Russia, lift not a "peep" against what they know is going on in India. But the cases are not the same, they say! No, they are not the same! The government concerned in the Indian case is not Bolshevik Russia but imperial Britain, which latter, of course, does no wrong. And the victim in the Indian case is not a Christian but only a heathen. But how do these differences touch the religious aspect of the cases? If so outraged by the one, why not by the other also?

Vacant Lots! What a source of joy to the small boys in every city and town! Held for a rise in value, these children's oases are the complete and perfect evidence of our neglect of child life. Our maxim is not, "After us the deluge." We are more up to date; our motto is, "No Generation after Ours." Who has ever heard of a city that really planned for the life of children? No, our cities develop from a center outward, slowly but surely occupying every possible foot of land. Playgrounds such as do exist here and there, are an accident or a mistake. Boston Common was intended for a cow pasture. Vacant lots are vanishing. Then it's to the streets for the "kids," and dodging autos for their pastime! We go on the theory that as our fathers did not plan cities for us, we need not plan for our children. Oh, yes, some cities have parks, most of them remote from where children live; they are lovely places. We have commissions to take care of them, and all too frequently the chief duty of these

commissions is to see that the parks are not used too much by people. We have long avenues lined with beautiful lawns; but they are empty spaces. No place here for "pom-pom-pull-away" or "hide and seek," to say nothing of baseball and football. The small boy looks in vain in a desert of houses and factories, for the setting for an Indian raid or the hiding place for a pirate's treasure. The best substitute he can find is a vacant lot. There amid piles of tin cans, scrap iron and waste paper, he has his one chance to realize his dreams. What does the small boy care for our city beautiful with its paved plaza walled in by towering architectural monuments? He wants to get his feet on the ground, and to have a chance to live *his* life even as we live ours. Back of the house in which we live, is a narrow paved alley. Opposite each other, on two of the sheds that line the alley, are iron rings used for "baskets" in the game of basketball. Across the street is a lot encumbered with old wagons, broken slabs of cement, tin cans and bits of iron. In the midst of these are the four "bases" of a ball diamond. These typify our neglect, and worse, of the coming generation. And we pay for it in reform schools, reformatories(?), jails and penitentiaries!

There is a healthy tradition of honesty at Harvard College which was never given more significant expression than in the recent protest against the building of a chapel as a war memorial. The *Crimson,* voicing this protest on behalf of the students, declares that the college religious service no longer plays any part in the lives of the vast majority of the student body, and is not likely to become any more important in the future. It asserts that a neglected chapel would be an unworthy tribute to the dead, and argues that "a constant, active reminder of the ideal which it represents is the only memorial worth considering." And then pleads for a gymnasium! That this statement about the chapel services is true, everybody knows who knows anything about Harvard life. We can think of nothing more pitiful than the empty pews to which the college preachers address themselves at the daily prayer services, unless it be the empty pews reserved for the Harvard students in the Cambridge churches on Sunday mornings. Nor is this situation by any means confined to Harvard, or to men's colleges. Only the other day we were visiting a certain woman's college, and were told that the falling off in attendance at the Sunday services had become positively alarming. Of course, it is possible to argue, as does Mr. E. T. Martin in *Life,* that "there is quite a bit more to life than youth thinks of, but in due time it finds out." But it is also possible to argue that in this, as in other cases, "the child is father to the man." Personally we take this fact as only more evidence of the progressive break-down of contemporary organized religion, and as one of the most certain prophecies we have ever seen of the completion of this break-down in the not distant future.

UNITY was the first religious journal in this country to point out the real significance of the radio from the standpoint of the church. When other papers were shouting loudly that this new invention was going to do wonderful things, and churches were tumbling over themselves to install equipment for the broadcasting of their services, UNITY ventured to assert, on the basis of nothing more definite than mere common-sense speculation, that the radio was certain not to help but to hurt the churches, and in all probability would handsomely complete the disastrous results already so well begun by the automobile. A few weeks ago, we published the first reports from the field to indicate that our guess in the matter was correct. Now the evidence to this effect is coming in so fast that it is impossible to keep up with it. Here is Bishop Stearly, of Newark, for example, declaring that there has entered "into our crowded and throbbing life another ally of those forces which make more difficult the assembling of the faithful for praise and prayer." "Why go to your parish church," he asks, "when you can sit at ease in your parlor and hear the heavenly music of a capable choir and be charmed by the fervid eloquence of a magnetic preacher?" Here is Cardinal Dubois, in Paris, arguing desperately that the radio cannot convert sinners, and that people must come to church! Here is the New York *Times* asserting, in a report on the situation, that "the radio has finally become the despair of clergymen, for many who occupied pews regularly have taken to remaining at home." All in all, it's an interesting problem just as it stands. It raises, as it has never been raised before, the pertinent question as to whether we are going to have any churches in the future. Wells, in his new book, "Men Like Gods," says No. He may be right!

Organizing to Wage Peace

The failure of those who wish to help in substituting law for war to organize their own peace forces for effective work has long grieved the friends of true internationalism.

To see a score of peace organizations working each with separate officers and treasury and propaganda and at the same time calling upon the many-sided interests in all the nations for co-operative action in vital concerns, is to witness a failure in example and a futility in effort.

Several years ago it was attempted to organize the peace societies for a more united attack upon militarism. It was before the Great War. It failed because of many reasons, chief among them the inability of reformers to sink difference of method in unity of purpose.

There is today a movement for the better organization of peace forces which seems likely to be far more successful than any previous attempt.

The National Council for the Prevention of War with headquarters at our Capital City, Washington, D. C., is able to show on its roster of participating and co-operating organizations over thirty societies.

Most of these are bodies of varied objects but having peace committees, or divisions of work for international friendship. Many, however, are organizations which, like the Peace Association of Friends, and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, and the Association to Abolish War, are devoted wholly to work against war.

The able and devoted Executive Secretary of this National Council to Prevent War, Mr. Frederick J. Libby, is seeking to secure the united conference and united action of all the peace societies to the end of checking all movements toward militarism in this country and of helping all movements everywhere toward better work for permanent peace. So far the effort has not been sharpened toward mass action so much as toward united conference and that inner unity which must precede all highest efficiency of co-operative effort.

The advantage, however, of getting all who believe in substituting law for war to work together for the great common end in some fashion, even when each body keeps its own separate organization and official board, is clear.

Mr. Libby's "Campaign Text-book" to which reference has been made before in UNITY, is a useful publication and should be in the hands of every one who is speaking for peace.

The tragedy of tragedies here in the United States would be such a split in the peace ranks as would make it impossible for any conscientious person to vote for a Presidential candidate who stood for the substitution of law for war because of his opposition to some one method of securing that end.

The National Council for the Prevention of War should be able to prepare the minds and hearts of the peace reformers for such a wise and tolerant and truly co-operative devotion to the main end as to prevent division on the method to the defeat of the inner purpose.

The world has been held back not alone by the bad people. Not chiefly by the indifferent people. Not alone by the backward-looking people. It has been rendered unable to take forward steps in crises by those also who were right on the main question but who were incapable of working harmoniously with others for a common end.

The old-fashioned housekeeper knew there was only one right way of doing every needed piece of work in the home. The old-fashioned reformer knows there is but one way of accomplishing the end he has in view. Many now have learned, however, that although a standard may be established to show what in all reasonableness and expert knowledge is likely to prove the best way of doing things the general habit of mankind is to accomplish ends of effort by many ways.

It is the business of reformers today to get together. Especially in the peace cause. It is the business of those who believe that the next great abolition of evil must be the abolition of war, to learn from the mistakes of those reformers of the past, who so sharpened divisive methods of attack upon wrong as to leave the struggle at last to those only who stood at the extremes of the conflict, to bethink them of the new points of view. These new points of view lead to a sounder analysis of conditions, a less doctrinaire approach to reforms, a far more just appreciation of the ideas of those who reach toward a common end from a different angle and a desire for co-operative effort that forbids partisanship of method, to the subversion of common purposes.

Today we face the greatest struggle of the ages of social reform. We are already pledged, millions of us, to work against that ancient enemy of human well-being, the wholesale, legalized slaughter of human beings.

We have come to this united determination to abolish war from many sides of human experience.

Some from human sympathy that cannot bear longer the cruelty of war. Some from economic appreciation of the waste of war, now become so incredibly stupid. Some from the gradual widening of comradeship until it overleaps the iron ring of nationalism which has held it bound so long; after religion has said "Our Father," and art and science and education and commerce have said "Our World."

No matter from what quarter of mind or heart we have approached this, the great new abolition movement, we have arrived. No one can long intimate his belief in the righteousness of war. No one can long declare the inevitableness of war.

Now for a long pull, and a strong pull, and a pull altogether, to get the common sense that war must go translated into deed.

For this there must be first of all a common meeting ground for all the varied peace efforts. There must be a continual conference of those leading in these movements. There must be full emancipation from the spirit of intolerance which denies to others engaged in a common cause their right of respect of private judgment as to method, and their choice of how best they can work for the common end. And from these non-sectarian efforts there may come such a reasonable and such a harmonious leadership in the peace cause as to make its work at last successful.

To this end we welcome the National Council to Prevent War as a means that all communities and all organizations may well use for this great purpose.

ANNA GARLIN SPENCER.

Jottings

"Whether or not, in the large majority of cases, 12-hour men devote less time to their families than the employees working less hours, is perhaps questionable" —Judge Gary in report sustaining the 12-hour day in the steel industry. Put this down as the "non-stop record" for inhumanity!

At the recent municipal election in Bombay, India, just three years after the inauguration of the movement to "have the sex-bar removed from the Municipal Act," four women were elected as Corporators of the city. These four women were the only female candidates among a large group of men; so that this event marks a one hundred per cent victory for sex equality in politics.

Every once in a while we remember the war fought to make the world safe for democracy; then we look at Curzon in England, at Poincaré in France, at Mussolini in Italy—and we don't know whether to laugh or to cry. When we think of the stay-at-home blood-eaters in all of these countries, we are moved to laugh; when we think of the unknown soldier and his millions of comrades, we are moved to cry.

Bishop Alexander Mann, of Pittsburgh, addressing the graduating class of the General Theological Seminary, New York, declares to the members that they "are going to serve a church that has failed, that knows it has failed, and is dispirited over its failure." That the church has failed is obvious enough, but we look in vain for evidence that it "knows it has failed"!

After giving millions of francs to Poland, France loans 100,000,000 francs to Roumania. Millions for militarism, but not one cent for debts!

Five of the most distinguished professors on the faculty of Clark University have resigned to go elsewhere, and have published in the Boston *Transcript* their reasons for doing so. One speaks of the progressing "disestablishment of the university"; another, of "the gradual destruction of the spirit of free intellectual inquiry"; still another, of the failure of morale among faculty and students. It will be remembered that Clark University has as President, Dr. Wallace W. Atwood—the man who interrupted Scott Nearing and dismissed his audience some months ago, and later excluded *The Nation* from the University library. Thus do chickens come home to roost! The despotic spirit is its own worst enemy, after all. J. H. H.

The New Evangelism

PART III.

So far as the doctrine of God is concerned it is easier to explain the point of view of the New Evangelism to those who were brought up in the doctrine of the old evangelism than it is to tell it to the liberal religionist or to the outsider. For the God of the New Evangelism is the God of the incarnation, "the word made flesh." Only the idea of this "enfleshing" of truth, this translation of the eternal into the temporal, the immaterial into the material, the invisible into the visible, is expanded from an "incarnation" through one supreme individual at one solitary point in history into an incarnation which includes the whole body of manifest life through all of that which we call time. Economic determinism, seen from this angle, is the most compelling and inspiring statement of the incarnation which has ever been made. It is the insistence that "Emmanuel," "God with us," means that the manifestation of the "divine" includes the whole area of life, and not this or that great person here or there, and includes the whole depth of life, not merely the "moral" and "intellectual" faculties of men. The way of the world's salvation, as thus seen, is not the way of the Great Man theory, whether one great man be deified or whether we include with Jesus other great figures, Buddha, Confucius, Mohammed, or more modern heroes. The world's need is not the great man, that is a delusion and a snare, as is proven by the fact that the worshippers of great men are the vast body of the world's reactionaries and obstructionists to-day. No, the world's need is to realize that if God is in the process of life at all He is in the whole process, and that therefore His manifestation is in the course of our common life more than it is at any single point in that life. No mountain dominates the earth, but the earth dominates every mountain. So is the universalism of the incarnation, God manifest in all of us vastly more than He can ever be in any one, or any few of us. This is ultimate democracy; and nothing less than this is democracy.

Nor is this all of that larger doctrine of the incarnation which is being interpreted to the world through economic determinism. Our worship of the great man is due to another bit of exclusiveness on our part, our stressing of man as mainly an intellectual being, which he is not. Man is a vital being much more than he is either an intellectual or a moral being. This much the new psychology has done for us, it has shown us how much more man reacts to his emotions than he does to intellectual or moral judgments. And the new sociology of the "materialistic" type, has certainly proven its case, that man responds in his thinking to the conditions under which he gets his subsistence, and his material goods generally, more than he answers to his reasonings about progress. The North was "free" not because it was intellectually and spiritually superior to the "slave" South, but because of certain geographical, climatic, and economic conditions which made slavery unprofitable in the one section and for the time being

profitable in the other. The cultural life in both sections waited upon the material manifestation. And this means, to state it compactly, that God is in a man's stomach just as much as he is in his brain. History has indeed been determined more by the stomach than by the brain, since the stomach functions first, and functions in all men, whereas the functioning of the brain is later and more exceptional. And why should we resent this doctrine, as if God had made the brain and had not made the rest of a man's body? "That which is first is natural, then that which is spiritual," is not from Karl Marx, but from the Apostle Paul. Marx simply helped us to understand what a universal and revolutionary saying it is. In California folks talk as if orange trees existed for the sake of oranges. And so they do commercially. But biologically the reverse is true, the orange exists for the sake of the tree, as a seed-carrier to produce more trees of the same kind. So is it with all our culture of mind and heart. From our point of view today the life of any historic period is to be judged by the culture which it produced, its fruitage of mind and heart. But biologically considered the cultural fruitage of any civilization is merely the seed-carrier for producing more of the same sort of civilization. God must be in the tree before He can be in the fruit. Why complain then if we insist that not only is His incarnation in the whole race of man, rather than in isolated individuals here and there, but it is in the whole life of the man, particularly in that which is nearest to the ground, rather than in the consequential harvesting of flower and fruit? "As a man thinketh so he is," may mean something of value after a man's thinking has reached the point where it is an active agent. But the other way of putting it is the earlier and the larger truth, "As a man is so he thinketh." Life itself is greater than any of its products. Thinking is the consequent of life much more than it is its antecedent. We trust no man in court if his life-interests and associations are against his testimony. And to the extent that we do trust men to think beyond their actual experience of life we have the explanation of the bankruptcy of our courts wherever class interests are concerned. All our ideologists are victims of the delusion that our mental processes are mightier than life itself. But it is because the truth is otherwise that "the weak things of the world" are forever "confounding the mighty."

So then we come to the second article of the New Evangelism, "surplus value," as its doctrine of sin. Let me approach it as simply, as untechnically as I can. I am not the least concerned to state it or defend it according to Marx, or according to any other economist. There is a way of getting at it which I believe any man with common sense and a fair degree of common knowledge can follow, and which carries its own demonstration of reality with it.

Man is the tool using animal. He has survived and mastered in the midst of creatures which seem to be vastly better equipped to fill and rule the earth because he has learned how to avail himself of tools. Thereby he was able to protect himself against the superior strength of other creatures, to overcome their superior swiftness, and to make them minister to his need of clothing and food. And thereby he has been able to cultivate the ground and to draw from the earth vaster and vaster supplies of food, and an increasing variety of comforts and luxuries.

Now if man had used only tools for his progressive conquest of nature, or had used only tools and the other animals, human history would have been a very different story from what it has been, and is. But man learned very soon that he could use man, and that in the matter of applying labor power to the tool his use of his fellow man was of more consequence to him than his use of any other instrumentality. He had either killed and kicked aside his enemy or victim until this time, or killed and eaten him, but now he learned that it was better to use his captive to raise a thousand meals for him than it was to make one meal out of him. So slavery came to pass. And the essence of slavery is this, that one man appropriates the surplus of another man's labor, that is the margin between what the worker has to have of his own product to keep him going and what he is able to produce as a whole. The margin was not large originally. With the crude tools of ancient times, and the wasteful methods of applying labor to land no single laborer produced very much above what it cost to keep him. Therefore it was necessary to have many slaves to gather from them enough of the honey of their surplus to keep the master in comfort and luxury, even as those terms were understood then. But the trick was learned. "In the sweat of thy brow shalt thou eat bread," reads the ancient curse. But the real curse began when the strong and the fortunate and the unscrupulous learned to read it, "In the sweat of the other fellow's brow thou canst eat cake." And that has been the secret of getting cake ever since. "The way to get rich," Andrew Carnegie is reported to have confessed, "is to get other men to work for you." Whether he confessed it or not that is the way. And in that "secret" is the real sin of the ages, the sin which is at the bottom of wars, tariffs, customs and all manner of exploitations, the sin which has so increased these last one hundred and fifty years in its range and power that it threatens to engulf all civilization to-day.

This last mentioned fact is the key, and the only key to the understanding of the present world problem. Beginning with the second half of the eighteenth century there has come to pass an industrial revolution which has widened the margin between what the individual worker can produce and what he has to have to live upon more than did all the centuries which went before. The machine has so multiplied the surplus that the effort to reinvest that surplus so as to make a larger surplus of it has set all the nations at loggerheads today. It is not that we cannot consume what we produce. "Over-production" has nothing to do with consumption, it has to do only with the relation between the producing power of labor and the purchasing power of labor. If the producing power is 100, and the purchasing power is only 50, there remains a margin sufficient to choke the producing machine unless undeveloped markets can be found to tide over the emergency. And since these undeveloped markets develop faster as production-centers than they develop purchasing power they only make matters worse very soon. Japan was our market for a time, and then we were utterly friendly to her. She is our producing competitor now, which is the real reason back of all our anti-Japanese talk. Either we shall change the ratio of our own purchasing

power so as to bring it up to the level of our producing power or we shall all find ourselves in the depths of the industrial hell, involved in a common world ruin. The sin of despoiling our brother of the full purchasing power of his own labor is the supreme sin of the world, the only sin that explains human history, and the one sin which if we forsake it not will speedily bring uttermost ruin upon us all.

(To be continued next week.)

Seattle, Washington. ROBERT WHITAKER.

George Willis Cooke

An Appreciation

For several reasons it seems fitting that there should appear in UNITY a somewhat extended *In Memoriam* to Mr. Cooke,—a somewhat full recognition of the great service which he rendered to it (and through it to the public) during all its history, up to the time of his death. He was one of its founders, and one of its two first editors; he had been connected with it as an editorial contributor or in some other recognized way throughout nearly or quite all of its career, and the literary matter he had furnished to its pages had been exceptionally large in amount and of an exceptionally high quality. Indeed, I think it will be no disparagement of any other members of the long roll of able men and women, who from the first have freely given of their best thought to its columns, if I express it as my own judgment that when we consider the very large number of articles from his pen which have appeared in UNITY, from first to last, the wide range and interest of their subjects, and their invariably high thought-quality, the place to be assigned to Mr. Cooke among its writers, should be next to that of Mr. Jones, or, since Mr. Jones' death, next to that of Mr. Holmes.

My own acquaintance with Mr. Cooke began in 1876, while he was preaching to a church in Wisconsin and publishing a small but wonderfully vigorous and attractive little paper. I liked the paper, subscribed for it, and at once put myself in touch with the editor. It was not long before we became associated in the establishment of a periodical in Chicago, for which his paper in a sense paved the way. The interesting story of this as told by Jenkin Lloyd Jones in connection with the tenth birthday celebration of UNITY, may fittingly be recalled here. Said Mr. Jones:

> The period which preceded the birth of UNITY was one of glowing hopes and high resolves, when four or five western ministers with ardor and eager courage plotted and planned to establish in the city of Chicago a paper which should carry the gospel of liberal religion which burned in their hearts to all parts of the great and fast-growing West. As early as 1876, if not earlier, resolutions had been passed by the Western Unitarian Conference recognizing the need of such a paper. Among those most eager for its existence were Robert Collyer of Chicago, William C. Gannett of St. Paul, Jenkin Lloyd Jones of Janesville, Charles W. Wendte of Cincinnati, John C. Learned of St. Louis, Henry M. Simmons of Kenosha, J. T. Sunderland of Chicago, and George W. Cooke, who at Sharon, Wisconsin, had already proved the possibility of such a publication by his brilliant little paper, *The Liberal Worker*. Finally, on March 1, 1878, the first five of these names appeared in actual type upon the front page of a little periodical called *The Pamphlet Mission* (six months later changed to UNITY) under the modest caption of "Publishing Committee." While Mr. Sunderland and Mr. Cooke were, with equal modesty, termed "Editors of Notes and News."

Owing to my own removal from Chicago and Mr. Cooke's from Wisconsin, our editorial connection with the new paper continued for only a year. But the friendship which we had formed for one another during the period of our working together deepened with all the succeeding years; and neither one of us ever lost his affection for the periodical which it was our happy privilege to help bring into existence, and to which Mr. Cooke was such a valuable contributor all his life.

It would require too much space to go back and recall here even a quarter part of the notable articles and series of articles from Mr. Cooke's fertile pen which have been given to the public through UNITY in the long years past; but several of the latest may be mentioned.

If I remember correctly the last article of his that appeared in these columns over his own name was that entitled "Race and Heredity" in December, 1922, in which he reviewed Mr. Lathrop Stoddard's "The Revolt Against Civilization," and pointed out with masterly learning the shallowness of that author's attack upon democracy; and his contention that the hope of the human race for the future lies not in education or the improvement of human environment but solely in heredity, in eugenics, in the breeding of a race of super-men —indeed, in the breeding of the white peoples into a race of aristocrats or super-men, to dominate the rest of mankind.

Another article, still more striking, which appeared in UNITY, July 6, 1922, was entitled "A Forecast of the Future of Mankind." This attracted wide attention, and the demand for its republication was so strong that it was re-issued as a pamphlet. I myself was so much impressed with it that I sent it to *The Modern Review* of Calcutta for publication in India.

Running from May to November, 1921, we had from Mr. Cooke a remarkable series of thirteen articles on "Revolutionary Tendencies in Modern Literature," in which he portrayed with singular freshness of thought and insight the chief characteristics and the literary influence of Rousseau, George Sand, Victor Hugo, Wagner, Tolstoy, Ibsen, Mazzini, Zola, Ruskin, Shelley, William Morris, George Meredith and Walt Whitman. I think most readers of UNITY will agree with me that these articles displayed a comprehension of the leading thought-movements and thought-tendencies of the modern world, a wide and exact knowledge of modern literatures, European and American, and a mastery of the principles of creative art and of literary criticism which were extraordinary. They might well have been republished as a small book.

The story of Mr. Cooke's life as epitomized in "Who's Who," runs as follows:

> Born in Comstock, Michigan, 1848; educated at Olivet College, Mich., and the Theological School, Meadville, Pa., married Lucy Nash of Rochester, Wis., 1872; entered the Unitarian ministry, 1872; held pastorates of churches in Sharon, Wis., Grand Haven, Mich., Indianapolis, Indiana, Dedham and Lexington, Mass., and Dublin and Francestown, N. H., between 1899 and 1922 held no settled pastorate, but devoted himself mainly to literature and lecturing; was lecturer at the Rand School of Social Science, New York, and at the Boston School of Social Science; author of many books.

Mr. Cooke's career as a writer of books began with his "Life, Writings and Philosophy of Ralph Waldo

Emerson," which appeared in 1881. This was followed at longer or shorter intervals by "George Eliot: A Critical Study of Her Life, Writings and Philosophy."
"Poets and Problems: Studies of Tennyson, Ruskin and Browning."
"Guide Book to the Poetical and Dramatic Works of Robert Browning."
"Introduction and Notes to the Riverside Edition of Robert Browning's Works."
"The Poets of Transcendentalism: An Anthology, with Introductory Essay and Biographical Notes."
"The Spiritual Life."
"Early Letters of George William Curtis to John S. Dwight."
Biography of John Sullivan Dwight: Brook Farmer, Editor and Critic of Music.
A Historical and Biographical Introduction to *The Dial.*
A Reprint of *The Dial.*
Unitarianism in America: A History.
"A Bibliography of James Russell Lowell."
"A Bibliography of Ralph Waldo Emerson."
Editor of 3 volumes of a "Complete Edition of the Works of Theodore Parker."
"The Social Evolution of Religion."

Mr. Cooke's "Life of Emerson" took its place at once as a work of a very high order, which called wide attention to its author as a scholar and literary critic, from whom America might expect much. Oliver Wendell Holmes wrote of the book:

> I have, as everybody ought to have, your admirable work. Hereafter no man can pretend to write about Mr. Emerson without having recourse to what you have written—the result of long and patient labor and a genuine enthusiasm for the subject—an enthusiasm made safe by a sound and critical judgment.

Edmund C. Stedman wrote to Mr. Cooke:

> I am drawn near to you by a careful study of your exposition of Emerson, so thorough, so many-sided, and in every way so sound and clear that I think it of more value than all the lives of him and treatises on him put together.

Mary A. Livermore wrote:

> I have recently been reading all the biographies of Emerson, and I want to say that Mr. Cooke's seems to me immensely superior to any other.

His later very careful and thorough Emerson Bibliography of course increased to a still greater degree the indebtedness of all Emerson students to him.

Mr. Cooke's "George Eliot" and "Poets and Problems" evinced the same careful appreciation, the same clear insight into characters and motives and the same suggestiveness in literary interpretation, that marked his treatment of Emerson. Of "George Eliot," Alice Wellington Rollins wrote:

> The book shows such a careful, just and appreciative study of the author, that one earnestly wishes that Marian Evans herself could have known of this comprehensive, exact and loving study of her work and motives.

The "Poets and Problems" (extended critiques of Tennyson, Ruskin, and Browning) was highly praised by John White Chadwick and other competent authorities.

In his "Letters of George William Curtis" and his "Biography of J. S. Dwight," Mr. Cooke gave to the public (rather incidentally) a fascinating account of Brook Farm. The Boston papers of the time declared that the story of that romantic episode in New England life had never been better told. Said the Boston *Literary World*:

> If one wants a graphic picture of this never-to-be forgotten social experiment, of its framework, of its spirit, of its meaning, of its powerful influence, with the personalities of the distinguished men and women connected with it projected before them with the distinctness of silhouettes, he can find it here within the compass of a hundred of Mr. Cooke's pages.

Mr. Cooke's "Poets of Transcendentalism" and his "Introduction (in two volumes) to *The Dial*" (that unique publication in which the Transcendentalist leaders give freest and fullest expression to their thought) are works of great scholarly research, and will forever be invaluable to students of New England Transcendentalism. The New York *Times* declared Mr. Cooke "the best living authority on the Transcendentalist movement."

His "Guide-book to Browning," and his "Introduction and Notes to the Riverside (the best American) Edition of Browning" are well nigh inexhaustible mines of information about the writings of that great but often very obscure and difficult poet; they show a sympathetic appreciation of Browning's thought and a knowledge of his works that are unsurpassed; no other books are of superior, if of equal, value, to readers and students of Browning's writings.

His "Unitarianism in America" is the work of Mr. Cooke which, naturally, is most prized by Unitarians. It is the standard history of the Unitarian movement in this country up to the beginning of the twentieth century. It is interestingly written, its fairness of spirit could hardly be more perfect, and the breadth and thoroughness of its research (of which I happen to have personal knowledge) insure that while it may be supplemented it can never be supplanted. American Unitarianism has produced no book of more creditable scholarship and perhaps none of greater value. If Mr. Cooke had done nothing else for the Unitarian cause than write this book, he would have been one of its greatest benefactors. It should be studied in every Unitarian Church and Sunday School. Unitarians can do nothing better to advance their faith in the world than to see that it has a place in the leading libraries of this country and all other English-speaking lands.

Mr. Cooke's last, and I do not hesitate to say, his greatest, book, the one into which, more than into any other, he put the best fruits of his studies and his thought for fifty years, was his "The Social Evolution of Religion." That work I will not take the space to characterize here, but will only say that unless one has read it he does not at all fully understand the vast range and thoroughness of Mr. Cooke's historical and scientific knowledge, or his extraordinary power of comprehensive and luminous generalization.

A subject to which Mr. Cooke had given extensive investigation and thought for more than twenty years was "Woman in the Progress of Civilization," or "Woman in History." He had collected a great amount of material and had written much,—at one time furnishing ten extended articles for *The Chautauqua Magazine,* beginning with Woman in Ancient Greece and Rome and coming down to the Woman Suffrage Movement in the World To-day. He was giving much attention to the subject at the time of his death, and hoped sooner or later to produce as important a work as his "Social Evolution of Religion," and even larger in extent. Whether he has left any part of it in sufficiently complete condition for publication I have not been able to learn.

Mr. Cooke had a distinguished career for more than 25 years as a public lecturer. Besides his regular en-

gagements at the Boston School of Social Science, the New England Institute for the Promotion of Learning, and the Rand School of Social Science in New York, he delivered both single lectures and series in all parts of New England, the Middle Atlantic States, the Middle West and in Canada, before Universities, Colleges and other institutions of learning, literary and scientific institutes, Chautauquas, churches, Browning societies, socialist clubs, women's clubs, literary clubs of various kinds, and many other organizations. The range of subjects upon which he spoke was very wide, some of the more important being:

I. "Representative American Authors," including Irving, Hawthorne, Longfellow, Emerson, Thoreau and Parkman.

II. "New England Transcendentalism," including in addition to Emerson and Thoreau the Alcotts, Margaret Fuller, Brook Farm, the Transcendental Club and its Members, the Concord School of Philosophy, and Concord Life and Concord People.

III. "American Poetry as an Interpretation of American Life,"—eight lectures in which he discussed all the leading schools and groups of American poets,—the character and value of their work, and their influence.

IV. "The Literary Interpretation of Social Problems"—ten lectures.

V. "The New Patriotism, or Social Obligations and Civic Duties," ten lectures.

These two series were designed primarily for colleges, schools, literary, scientific, and social institutes, and groups interested in serious study. In them the lecturer aimed "to bring together the results of the latest investigations in biology, psychology and sociology as to the relations of individuals to each other and to social institutions."

VI. "Socialism in Literature." Fifteen lectures, discussing Socialism in all its phases, together with the literature which it has produced or in which it finds expression.

VII. "Woman's Place in the History of Humanity," six lectures,—given extensively before women's clubs.

VIII. "Wit and Wisdom of the American Humorists"—a series of five exceedingly bright and interesting popular lectures, on
(1) "Artemus Ward and American Humor,"
(2) "Mark Twain and Southern Humor,"
(3) "Bret Harte and Western Humor,"
(4) "Yankee Wit in Holmes and Lowell," and
(5) "Recent Humorists—Stockton and Riley."

Some of the most popular and oftenest delivered of his single lectures were those on "Emerson," "Thoreau," "Concord and Its Distinguished Men and Women," "Browning," "Ibsen," "The Fear and Promise of Socialism," "The Health of the Nation," and "The Pioneers of American Liberty."

Mr. Cooke's characteristics as a lecturer were the extraordinary wealth of knowledge shown in every lecture, his comprehensive method of treating his themes, thus enabling his audience to understand his subject not only in itself but also in its broad relations, the fairness and justness, and at the same time, the independence of his judgments, the crystal clearness of his thought, and the simplicity, naturalness and attractiveness of his speech.

It need hardly be said that he was not a popular lecturer in the sense in which these words are often used. That is, he never descended to story-telling, to jokes or extravagances of language for the sake of effect, to artificial word-painting, or to any of the tricks or artifices by means of which "popular" speakers so often draw crowds. But he was an exceptionally instructive and able lecturer, and to thinking men and women he was everywhere attractive. Dr. Gunsaulus of Chicago, after hearing him in an extended series, declared: "The lectures of Mr. George W. Cooke are beyond comparison, the most suggestive and luminous interpretations of men and literary movements to which I have listened in recent years." Mr. Hezekiah Butterworth said of him: "The lectures of Mr. Cooke are deeply thoughtful, eloquently earnest, and models of form and style. He is one of the most eloquent of Boston lecturers."

Something further should be said about Mr. Cooke's intellectual furnishings. It was reported some years ago that he regularly drew more books from the Athenaeum and Boston Public Libraries than any other investigator, student, or scholar that made use of those vast storehouses of the world's knowledge. No one who knew him was surprised at the report. Moreover, the works that he drew were of the highest order; they were the writings of the great masters of all the important literatures of mankind, and the works of the highest authorities in all those departments of knowledge—physical science, social science, anthropology, history, letters, economics, art, philosophy, ethics, religion—in which his wide vision and breadth of mind kept him constantly interested and into which his desires to know kept him forever making new and fresh investigations and explorations, up to the very day of his death.

If Mr. Cooke was a great reader, he was also a vigorous and independent thinker. I myself never knew a man who was such a tremendous devourer of books. With most men such omnivorousness of reading would have meant death to all independence and originality of thought. It was not so with him. Most men read to find out what to think—to get other people's thoughts and adopt them as their own. This does not describe Mr. Cooke. While he was always eager to obtain the thought of other men, if they were men who had real thought, it was always to try the thoughts, to test them, and never to accept them unless they commended themselves to his independent judgment as sound and true. Above everything else he read for facts, for proved facts, as a basis for his thinking. This meant that his thinking was his own. It also meant that it was scientific in its method and therefore to an unusual degree trustworthy. While he was a radical of the radicals he was never an eccentric or a faddist. And he was not, because he possessed large knowledge, and because he dared to stand on his own feet. While many men who had smaller knowledge and who depended upon others for their opinions and beliefs were carried away into this, that and the other "ism," Mr. Cooke, because he had a large intellectual outlook and because he persisted in thinking for himself, kept his head. This is why his literary judgments in all his books are so almost invariably true and sound, and why all his writings make so strong an appeal to men and women who care for reality. Among all the advanced thinkers of this country, especially in literature, sociology and religion, is there one whose thought is more worth while or more sane? That last word exactly describes him in all his writing. He is independent, he is himself and not another, he is uncompromising, he is absolutely fearless. But he is always sane. Yes, and fair. He does not exaggerate, he does not lose his poise, he does not seize his theories and run with them far beyond his facts, he does not unduly press his theories on you; he gives you his facts very fully and clearly and draws his conclusions from them, and then leaves you absolutely free

to accept or reject them according to whether they seem to you true or not. And he never intimates that you are a fool or a knave if you do not agree with him. This is the mark of a sane, a comprehensive, a just, a balanced, a great mind.

Mr. Cooke was a "Fellow" of the highest scientific body in this country, "The American Association for the Advancement of Science"; but strange as it may seem, he never received a higher or honorary degree from any university. In view of the vast range and thoroughness of his knowledge, and of his extensive literary works, all of them attractive in form, rich in thought, dealing with subjects of prime importance and evincing scholarship of the first order, this seems amazing. It shows (does it not?) how very small is the value of honorary degrees from universities as indexes of the real worth or greatness of any author, scholar or thinker.

Politically Mr. Cooke was an independent. He was intensely democratic in his sympathies, although not willing to wear the Democratic Party name. For many years he had called himself a Socialist, and had worked with that Party, which had no abler lecturer. It need hardly be added that his socialism was of the broadest, most intelligent and most constructive type; it was distinctly evolutionary, not revolutionary, socialism. He liked to designate it by the name of "collectivism." By collectivism he meant—in politics, democracy; in industry and in social relations, co-operation; in religion, brotherhood. The industrial, economic and capitalistic system which at present prevails in this country and in most others that have come under the influence of western civilization, he regarded as unjust and oppressive to all but the favored few. Militarism and imperialism, which in his judgment are serious menaces to this country as well as to the rest of the world, he believed to be indissolubly associated with our industrial and capitalistic system, and cannot be destroyed so long as this system continues. The direction in which he saw most hope of relief from all these grave evils was that of socialism—socialism interpreted as collectivism. Hence his co-operation with the socialist party.

In the same direction also he saw most hope for religion. In explaining the relation of collectivism to religion he says:

> The tendency which we see today in certain forms of progressive Christianity to emphasize human interests, to seek the present good of man, to redeem and purify society, allies it with collectivism. With the coming of collectivism, the "Kingdom of God" will become a republic of man, the "Lord" of the church will become the brother of the poor, and the church itself will become a brotherhood of those who desire to live as helpers of their kind.

While Mr. Cooke's tastes and interests were eminently historical, scientific, social, and especially literary: while he possessed a knowledge of literature equalled by few scholars, and while his own works of literary research and exposition were so important as to give him a place in the front ranks of American literary critics and interpreters, yet his deepest interest throughout his life was in religion, if by religion we understand something deep enough, radical enough, ethical enough, human enough, vital enough.

For the outward forms of religion and its speculative theologies he cared little; indeed, the dogmas of religion, its creeds, its miracles, its sacred books declared to be infallible revelations from heaven, its teachers set up as deities or as men endowed with supernatural knowledge and divine authority, its assumptions of ecclesiastical power, its alliances with the State, with money, with political ambitions and with armies and navies—these things he deeply deplored, regarding them as superstitions, as tyrannies over the human mind, as hindrances to the progress of civilization, and as foes of true religion. But down deep below these excrescences of religion, these perversions, these evil associations inherited from an ignorant past—transitory in their nature—he saw a soul of permanent reality and of good. Just as he believed the home to be an institution of permanent value to men notwithstanding the crudenesses and brutalities which have often been associated with it; and just as he regarded law and governments as beneficent in their nature and necessary to the progress of civilization, in spite of their perversions and miscarriages of justice; so he regarded religion as in its essential nature good, permanent, the very inspiration and soul of man's higher life, notwithstanding all the superstitions, tyrannies and degradations which have shielded themselves under its wing and called themselves by its great name.

To Mr. Cooke religion stood for something very large, very human, very vital. It stood for the ethical in man as distinguished from the unethical, for the spiritual as distinguished from the material. It stood for that in man's nature which most separates him from the brute and from all things brutal; and which lifts him into relations with that which he is compelled to think of as highest, most enduring, most beautiful, most divine. It is that in man, which in his deepest experiences, bows his head and awes his soul, and compels him to utter some high word which means to him God. It is a comprehensive word to express man's reverences, his worships, his aspirations, his ideals; his sense that he is not what he ought to be and his determination to attain something higher and better; his contritions for wrong, his monitions of conscience, his sense of right and justice, the solemn voice of duty in his soul; his highest hopes, his deepest faiths, his most splendid heroisms; and perhaps above all, his love—his deepest, most unselfish and most enduring love and affection—his pity, his sympathy for suffering and sorrow, his desire to help others who are in need, and hence his impulse to do what he can to create happier conditions for men and a better human society.

The depth and permanence of Mr. Cooke's interest in religion is shown by the fact that he made the Christian ministry his central life work,—never abandoning the pulpit, but even in the years when he lectured and wrote most and held no pastorate, continuing almost constantly to preach or otherwise speak upon religious subjects whenever opportunities offered. It is also shown in the fact that three of his books into which he put most time, labor and heart, were distinctly religious works.

To many persons who know Mr. Cooke through his books and his lectures, it seemed strange that a man of such ability should never have been pastor of any of the larger and more conspicuous churches of his denomination. Why was this? Was it because he lacked some of the superficially "popular" gifts that popular churches are often charged with seeking? Was it because he was too radical? Certain it is that no churches in the Unitarian body during the last generation have listened to abler preaching, to preaching packed more full of the most living thought, or to preaching that pulsed with a deeper enthusiasm for justice, righteousness and truth, than the congregations to which Mr.

Cooke ministered. He was not often asked to speak at any of our national Unitarian gatherings. Perhaps this was partly because of his too great modesty; possibly it was because he was thought to lean too much toward socialism. It is especially noticeable and regrettable that one so able, so richly equipped as a scholar, so eminent as an author, so strong as a thinker, and so pregnant with great and living messages to our time which he was constantly delivering on other platforms and to other audiences, should not have been heard in our Ministers' Institutes and our Berry Street Conferences of ministers. Why was this?

Of Mr. Cooke's domestic life, it is necessary to say only a few words. He was married twice—the first time—at the beginning of his ministry—as has been said—to Miss Lucy Nash, a member of a prominent Wisconsin family, a teacher, a writer, a woman of education and of high gifts of heart and mind, who throughout most of his public life (until her comparatively recent death) was his sympathetic and efficient helper in all his work; and the second time, just before his own death, to Mary Lydia Leggett, of Revere, Mass., a Unitarian minister, the first woman to be graduated from the Harvard Divinity School, who had held pastorates in Fort Collins, Colo., Wolfeboro, N. H., and Revere, and whose culture and companionship promised new happiness and inspiration to his life. He had two daughters who survived him. The domestic side of life was always much to him. In all his thinking and in his writings he assigned to the home the central place in civilization. Hardly any man of his generation had done so much, by pen, by public speech and by personal influence to expose the injustices to which woman has been subjected during almost all the ages past, and to advocate for her equal rights, responsibilities and privileges with man. His high appreciation of woman, his willingness to acknowledge her intellectual gifts and her contribution to civilization as equally important with those of man, and his unfailing chivalry toward her sex, were fine and noticeable traits of his character always.

The seventieth birthday of Mr. Cooke was celebrated by a notable reception given in his honor in Boston by the Free Religious Association, of which he had long been an active member and in which he had held important offices. Addresses were made by Dr. Edward Waldo Emerson and other persons of distinction; but the most remarkable feature of the occasion was the address of Mr. Cooke himself. He began by saying:

> When I reached my thirty-fifth birthday I preached a sermon on the middle term of life and on how the world presented itself to one at that age. My congregation decided that it was very pessimistic and did not like it. Now that I have lived thirty-five years more, and know far more about the world than I did then, and much more of its disappointments, miseries and defects, I confess to having become very much of an optimist, and to indulging in great hopes for the future of humanity.

At the time when he spoke, the Great War was raging in Europe. In view of that terrible catastrophe he declared that perhaps never in the history of the world had the immediate outlook for humanity seemed darker. And yet he followed with the declaration that he could not put aside the conviction that the world was never in a more promising condition than at that moment,—not as regards the immediate future, but as regards a future more remote but sure to arrive. Then he proceeded to point out in a most interesting manner some of the more conspicuous advances that had been made in civilization within his life time, and the reasons why he believed that these advances would continue and that others still more important would be made in the future.

It is widely believed to be the fate of men to grow less hopeful, less sure of the progress of the world, less courageous in their outlook, as they grow older. But certainly so far as Mr. Cooke was concerned, that belief was the opposite of the truth. It was heartening, it was splendid, to see a man of seventy, with Mr. Cooke's extraordinary knowledge of the past history of mankind, and of the forces now operating in the world to mould the future, stand up and declare without the least hesitation his faith that, notwithstanding all that looks dark, the progress of humanity is certain—that war will be outlawed and overcome; that far more just industrial conditions will be reached; that not only the sects of Christendom but the great religions of mankind will become a brotherhood, and that our present narrow and hurtful nationalisms will give place to an intelligent and noble internationalism which will be virtually a Confederation of the World. Such a prophecy concerning the future of humanity, coming from some men would mean little; but coming from a scholar and a thinker with the vast knowledge and the comprehensiveness of judgment of Mr. Cooke, no one has a right to say that it means little.

Everything confirms the impression conveyed by his seventieth birthday address, that Mr. Cooke never grew old in spirit, but, rather, that he actually grew younger in mind and feeling to the end—more keenly interested in the welfare of humanity, more optimistic, more courageous, more hopeful in his outlook upon life and upon the future of the world. And why should it not always be so with men and women whose years mean, as his meant, increasing knowledge and wisdom and a life devoted to human service? When men grow pessimistic as they grow old does it not always mean that they are starving their intellects, or, much more likely, their hearts,—that they are living narrow and selfish lives, absorbed in their own interests—forgetting God and their brother, to whom they belong? Such lives are not worth living, and therefore of course they yield no hope or joy. Mr. Cooke lived for knowledge, for truth, for service of humanity: and therefore of course his sky widened, his hope and faith strengthened, and his life grew richer to the end.

At the time of his death Mr. Cooke had completed his seventy-fifth year. Up to the last he was "planning new work and fresh enterprises with all the zest of youth." Returning to the active work of the ministry, he had entered with all the enthusiasm of a man of thirty into the pastorate of the combined Congregational and Unitarian churches in Francestown, N. H., hoping to make the two into a forward-looking, free, progressive, non-sectarian, deeply spiritual and earnestly practical church of all the people—a true community church. He said to a friend: "I think I have about ten years more to work." With his plans for his church and for his book on "Woman in History," and with the joy of the new intellectual companionship that had come to him with his recent marriage, his outlook for the future seemed singularly bright. But alas!—"in an hour when he thought not" a "stronger than the strong man" came. There was to be a future for him very different from that which he had planned! Let us believe that it is not less bright.

On April 23rd, 1923, he had been married to Rev.

Mary Lydia Leggett, of whom mention has already been made. Nine days later his death came, suddenly and wholly unexpectedly, and without suffering. The funeral service was held in Kings Chapel, Boston. It was fitting that he who far above all others was the Historian of the Unitarian movement in America, should be buried from that most historic of our Unitarian church edifices. J. T. SUNDERLAND.

CORRESPONDENCE

A Reply to Carlyle Summerbell and Other Troubled Souls

I do not blame my friend Carlyle Summerbell for getting mad at some things that appear in UNITY. In fact I occasionally do so myself. Recently I was very much wrought up over something I read in UNITY but I quieted down considerably when I discovered that I had written it myself. And after all it depends very much on our point of view as to whether we think what appears in UNITY is wise or unwise.

I must admit that my indigation is more often aroused because certain things have to be recorded in UNITY because they exist in this world rather than at the method of recording them.

I suppose that if UNITY only reported the lovely things of this world, it might happen that no one would get angry. But of this I am not sure. Perhaps even a greater anger will arise because of our very sweetness.

I agree with Mr. Summerbell that hard invectives may do more damage than brickbats, but I can hardly agree, that resorting to brickbats is a worthy form of action even if our motives are high. I suppose that he thought that as his motive was high that he was justified in handing Jenkin Lloyd Jones and a number of other people who accepted Mr. Ford's invitation to carry a message of peace and good will to Europe in time of war, an unusually hard-baked verbal brickbat. Naturally, he believes that such a procedure was laughed at by the world. Undoubtedly it was laughed at by a large portion of it, but if Mr. Summerbell could have been present at the great meetings held at Christiania, Stockholm, Copenhagen, The Hague, Amsterdam and Rotterdam, if he could have heard the tumultuous applause of the audiences or the earnest words of the leaders in thought and action, who went with the Ford party from all these countries to the Hague, if he could have heard the prayers of the churches and "the-God-bless-yous" of all classes and conditions of peoples, he would understand that we did not go to Europe to stop the war, but to organize an International conference. This conference was organized, and met and remained in existence until the first of March, 1917. It may please those who did not happen to laugh when the daily press pulled the string to know that that conference had in its membership at least four professors of international law from leading Universities of Europe, its presiding officer was the burgomaster of the city of Stockholm at the invitation of whose government the conference met in that city.

I did not intend however to defend Ford's peace party, I am honestly sorry for the people who laugh at it. There are circumstances when only the devil has a right to laugh.

I will not debate the question of whether Jesus was or was not a pacifist. Mr. Summerbell says that he was a terrible fighter in the realm of intellect. I remember that Jesus has had attributed to him some very hard words about the Pharisees. I presume these words and the fact that he drove the money changers from the temple with a whip form the basis of his judgment as to the fighting qualities of Jesus. The thing that I cannot understand however is how he can approve of the stinging, biting, sneering, denunciatory words attributed to Jesus and then balk at the somewhat mild things in comparison that have been said in UNITY in reference to war. When one remembers that the Pharisees were the respectable patriots of their day and that their chief crime was a sort of smug self appreciation, one is apt to think that they might have been treated a little more tenderly. Certainly the Pharisees of the days of Jesus had not brought an entire civilization to the point of destruction, sacrificed twenty millions of men on the altars of Mars and brought unmeasurable woe and agony to the world. I deplore as Mr. Summerbell does hard words and bitter invectives, yet when I see the ruin, misery, suffering and agony that is the result, it is true of a system, and hear it justified as necessary to social progress, I confess I wonder that more men do not break forth in hot, bitter words of protest.

As for accepting the world "as it is,"—I doubt very much if any really honest and sincere man ever does. I know a man who recently left a denomination which has a historic record in favor of liberalism. He left a church that gave him every opportunity for free expression of his mind. He could say his innermost thought and yet this man left that church of his fathers. He joined himself to a small denomination and took a church much smaller than he had previously had. Why did he do it? As I see it he did it because he could no longer adjust his mental life to that of the entire group of which he was formerly a part. If he stayed in he would have to give his assent publicly to denominational enterprises which, in spite of the liberal tradition of the church, seemed to him to pertain rather to orthodoxy than liberalism. I may misinterpret his motives but this is as it seems to me. So he did from my point of view a brave, courageous thing. He went against the great majority. He left a position of comparative ease and undertook a very difficult task. I don't think he was a fool, I think he was a wise man.

The pacifist goes against the crowd; most emphatically so in times of war. Perhaps one is wise when he goes against the world on the theological proposition but a fool when he goes against it on an ethical proposition.

Then we ought to get one other matter straight. I think most of us who are opposed to war and bear the unpopular name of "pacifist" appreciate the noble lives, the high purposes and the devoted service rendered to their country and humanity by George Washington, Robert Morris, Sam Adams, John Addams, Benj. Franklin. I hope my patriotism will not be impugned when I say that my attitude toward revolutionary war is similar to that of Benj. Franklin. It is to be remembered that he is the wise or foolish man according to the point of view who said, "There never was a bad peace or a good war." Now, while I deplore the fact of the seven years of slaughter brought on by a stupid king, and carried on by more stupid ministers, who had to hire poor German boys and incite savages to do their kingly master's will, I am just as certain that heroism, courage and high devotion were shown on both sides of that conflict as in every other conflict of a similar nature. But because we did have the revolutionary war, and we did get what seems to many to be a desirable thing, separation from England through it, I do not see why we should not set our minds and hearts to find some better way of doing some similar thing in the future. Because we have had wars is no sign we ought to have had them or ought to have them in the future. And although the world "as it is" is very warlike at the present time, it seems that we ought to now move heaven and earth to find some other way. UNITY believes that the chief business of man at the present time is to abolish war. That being our job, we will probably stick at it in our own way until the end is accomplished. We do not propose to accept the world as it is.

The identification of a police force and its activities with an army and its activities is past my understanding. A police force is the agent of a court. It acts under law, and its function is primarily to assist in the securing of justice. But an army has for its purpose the imposition of power by means of force represented in bayonets, shrapnel, bombs and poison gas. It is amenable to no court and knows no law. But whatever may be the nature of a police force, I am very certain that civilization does not rest on force and does not endure because of the man with a club. If the primary force which holds us together in neighborhoods and communities, in states and nations is the revolvers and clubs of policemen, then I say God pity us. But of course this is not true. I lived in a city of upwards of fifty thousand people for nearly twelve years. The police force consisted of the small army of five men. Their duty for the most part was not that of apprehending criminals, but the performance of those kindly duties which are involved in watching and guarding life and property wherever any considerable number of people gather together. But as a matter of fact, so far as ninety and more per cent of the people were concerned there were no policemen. They needed no man with a club. And they were the people upon whom civilization depended and rested. When the police were looking after a few unsocially minded or mentally incapacitated folk, they were not taking care of the supporters of civilization, but looking after those who didn't quite understand their place in social orders. To be sure they did this somewhat crudely, unscientifically, but they are going to do it better after a while when the real supporters of civilization understand their duties better.

THE FIELD

"The World is my country, to do good is my Religion"

TO THE UNITARIAN AND LIBERAL RELIGIOUS PEACE SOCIETY

At Its Annual Meeting at New Hall, London, in Whiteweek, 1923.

[We print herewith this report of Mr. Fred Hankinson to his Unitarian supporters in England, first because Mr. Hankinson is a member of our editorial board, secondly because he is doing one of the noblest pieces of relief work in Europe, which is still desperately in need of funds. We commend this report to our readers in all earnestness, and ask if they do not want to contribute to this great and necessary work of humanity, with so definite an assurance as to how their gifts will be used. The Community Church of New York has given twice this past year, and asks others to join in the undertaking.—J. H. H.]

Dear Fellow Workers in the Great Cause of Peace:

At the last annual meeting of our Peace Society you very kindly elected me as your President. I believe you wished to show that you felt my relief mission work in Budapest, Hungary, had not only its material side but also its ethical and spiritual side in promoting the cause of religion, internationalism and peace.

I fear I have been a very inefficient President owing to my absence abroad and it is with great regret that I am unable to be present at your annual meeting this year to tell you something of conditions out here and of the great need there is for our peace cause in these lands overwhelmed with after war problems and rumors and fears of war.

After the Great War and the Bolshevistic regime, the revolution, the counter revolution, the Roumanian occupation and then the peace treaty with its reparations and the taking away of two-thirds of Hungarian territory it was only natural that many of the societies and fellowships, social, humanitarian and religious, which were working for freedom and brotherhood and peace were closed or rendered weak and inactive. The people in this large city of Budapest were therefore naturally concerned with material things, in the first year after the war with the shortage of certain essential foods and later with unemployment on a large scale, with inadequate wages, with a depreciation of the kronen and with a great influx of refugees from the now occupied territories of old Hungary and given by the peace treaty to Roumania, Jugoslavia, Czecho-Slovakia and Austria. Further there are many thousands of Russian refugees here, as well as some hundreds of those wandering families which before the war tramped from land to land in the East and being without passports or citizenship have been found in Hungary and must remain here since no nation claims them. As is usual in countries after the throes and upheavals of a revolution, there are many imprisoned and interned politicals—men and women, young and old—and the after effects so often produce a harvest of suspicion, revenge, misrepresentation, cruel scandal and bitter class-feelings.

But in time things settle down and in spite of present unrest, one does find religious, humanitarian and ethical societies beginning to reassert themselves and working in very quiet ways. You will be glad to know that I have spoken to the woman's society here on the work of British women societies in the interest of reform and peace and also I meet small groups of the Hungarian peace society which has its leader in the world-renowned member of the Hungarian parliament and the dignitary of the Roman Catholic Church, Canon Alexander Giesswein. He was one of the speakers at the No More War Demonstration in Hyde Park last year. The organized workers of Hungary are united in their efforts to promote a world peace and world brotherhood. By these signs shown in small groups one has hope that amid all the present retrograde steps the causes of religion and brotherhood and peace cannot perish because of the righteous men and women in every country today who won't give in to the forces of reaction but labor for the coming of better and holier times.

The peace treaty may dissect the old Hungary and hand over to foreign neighbors two-thirds of her territory and her subjects; the reparations may seek to weaken the present Hungary financially and economically; the rapidly rising prices of the necessities of life and the depreciation of the kronen and the inadequate wages of so many workers may cause the untimely death of a number of men and women and children and help to spread the "White Scourge" of tuberculosis; the influx of refugee university students who are unable to live suitably in their crowded quarters and too poor to buy books may stunt the intellectual life of a nation, but in spite of these and many other trials no peace treaty, no supreme council, no foreign power or reparations commission can crush the soul of a people or kill the things born of the mind and spirit.

So one witnesses in a few brave daring souls the rebirth and reawakening of that human and spiritual sense which is today in all lands longing for peace and goodwill and a true league of all peoples of all nations, with justice and truth as the watchwords.

My work lies mainly in the form of relief and conditions are very sad here for many families. The eyes of charitable folks are turned to the tragic needs of Russia and Vienna and the eastern countries, but here is much to be done in saving the innocent child victims of the war and the innocent refugees—victims of the peace treaty.

I know the remark is sometimes made, "Why go abroad to do relief work when there is plenty of similar work to be done in the homeland?"

Well the answer comes, that in spite of the present enormous unemployment and distress in England there is government grant for the unemployed, there are many well organized charitable societies, every church does its own relief work, state pensions are on a higher scale and even as a last resort there is the poor law. But in Hungary since the war the organized charitable and relief societies are either closed down or working through lack of funds in very small ways, there is no government grant for the unemployed owing to the general poorness of the state. Taxes and rents become a heavy burden on all classes.

The poverty in certain quarters is tragic and terrible to witness owing to the universal lack of housing accommodation. Hungary has some 300,000 refugees and very many reach the capital city of Budapest, so that one finds families living in dwellings that are indescribable—some being literally cellars or rooms without sunlight or ventilation. The Rev. Canon Hannay, the British chaplain here, said he found the housing problem worse than anywhere else he had been in Europe. This is one of the causes of much illness and tuberculosis. Let us bring the question of poverty and the after effects of war home to our own religious community. Here are two widows of Unitarian ministers living on a small state pension of the equivalent of 5/- to 6/- a month at the present rate of exchange. Any day the kronen may fall and the pension have less value. They receive help from the relief mission. There is no pension fund connected with the church as in England and America and the church members are all burdened with their own struggle for existence that they cannot help. These cases are typical of many widows and pensioned state officials.

Again here is a Unitarian man interned in a camp for political reasons for 35 months. His wife and two small children in order to exist were forced to go and live with the father in the internment camp and thus get lodgings and a minimum food allowance. The Unitarian minister asked our mission to help, and money, food and clothing were sent.

This is typical of many similar cases where help is given for the wife and children of the interned man.

There are also Unitarian students who are refugees from Transylvania, who cannot return home to present Roumania and who can't always receive money from the parents, letters even arriving without the expected money and they must at times starve unless help is given. So many of them are working all day

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Let me close as I began with another word about these "strong words." Some of us can't use them; others can. But perhaps in view of the terrible, unspeakable tragedy that threatens mankind, they are not too strong at any rate. The important thing it seems to me is not the burning words that come from some one's lips whose heart is torn in contemplation "of man's inhumanity to man"

"That makes countless millions mourn."

But the threatening calamity which, as a friend of mine says, who went through that awful agony in France, will if it happens again engulf the civilization of the world. This is no time for weasel words, it is time for honest thinking and straight speaking. Undoubtedly the more kindly it is the more effective it will be.

ARTHUR L. WEATHERLY.

in office or factory and study in the evening. Quite a small number of them have been saved from tuberculosis by having sanatorium treatment or extra food from the mission. Twenty Unitarian refugee students are living in a student's home, but as I receive funds from a general public, this home is able to house in all 60 Protestant students of various denominations.

Another typical case is that of a well educated and refined Unitarian family, the man a journalist, the wife a most industrious woman, there are four growing children all at school. It is impossible to buy boots and clothing for all, so from money and clothing sent to the mission, boots are bought for the eldest lad and second-hand clothes are given which the mother alters for the little ones. The father's regular earnings as a journalist are about half the amount needed for the month so the mother does not only her household work, but has to take in sewing and other work to increase the income. All this tells on the family health. The mother told me bread was the usual food at all meals and indeed the children proved it by the aenemic appearance.

How many cases in a year must one give occasional help to of this kind.

It is always good to realize how much one can do to save children with early tendencies to tuberculosis, by sending them to a sanatorium or giving an extra food allowance.

Unitarians and non-Unitarians would rejoice to think they have helped to save some consumptive child, for not only the child, but the family and the circle of friends and neighbors realize, that the English and American supporters of relief mission work desire also to express friendliness and goodwill.

Still a relief mission does much also in getting literature for various clubs and societies, and many English friends have sent agricultural and gardening books, which are very valuable, as the high prices prevent Hungarian students from purchasing necessary literature. So one feels justified in representing the English and American friends, who wish to show friendship to Hungary and want their money expended on organized lines.

(To be continued.)

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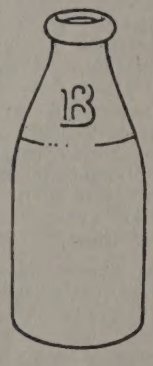

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